

Message Text

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REF: BERN 1660

IN A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS RECENT EDITORIAL ON THE " SONNENFELDT AFFAIR", CHIEF EDITOR CLAUDE MONNIER OF THE JOURNAL DE GENEVA APRIL 21 PRAISED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S EUROPEAN POLICY AND CASTIGATED ITS CRITICS IN BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPE. EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF EDITORIAL TITLED "EUROPE AT WAR AGAINST WINDMILLS", FOLLOWS:

WHAT A STRANGE SIGHT, WHEN EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE BOTH GO TO BATTLE WITH RUFFLED FEATHERS AGAINST PEACEFUL AMERICAN WIND-MILLS. ALREADY IN OUR EDITION OF APRIL 14 WE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL THE VERY FRANK REMARKS WHICH HENRY KISSINGER AND HIS PRINCIPAL ADVISER ON SOVIET AFFAIRS, HELMUT SONNENFELDT, MADE TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON WHEN THEY MET

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THERE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS.

NOW THAT THESE REMARKS HAVE BECOME PUBLIC THANKS TO CERTAIN "LEAKS", THE COUNTRIES TO WHICH THEY REFERRED HAVE REACTED VIOLENTLY, BUT UNFORTUNATELY WITHOUT TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND HIS COUNSELOR HAD MEANT TO SAY EXACTLY.

WESTERN EUROPE, WITH ITALY AND FRANCE IN THE LEAD, ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF INTERFERING UNDULY WITH THEIR AFFAIRS AND OF EXERTING INTOLERABLE PRESSURE BECAUSE MR. KISSINGER HAD SAID QUITE BLUNTLY THAT AMERICA WAS VERY WORRIED OVER THE RISKS WHICH A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN ROME, PARIS OR ELSEWHERE IN WESTERN EUROPE WOULD PRESENT FOR THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. EASTERN EUROPE ON THE OTHER HAND, WITH ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA LEADING THE PACK, HAS DECLARED THAT MR. SONNENFELDT'S ANALYSIS WHICH ASSUMES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL BALANCE IS MENACED BY THE CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION WITH ITS EUROPEAN "SATELLITES" BASED ON MERE FORCE - CONSTITUTES A KIND OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES OF AN EXCLUSIVELY SOVIET SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. BUT ALL THESE ACCUSATORY INTERPRETATIONS ARE WRONG. WITHOUT REPEATING ONCE MORE MR. KISSINGER'S RECENT DETAILED STATEMENTS, LET US RECALL THAT HIS POLITICAL VISION IS BASICALLY VERY SIMPLE: ACCORDING TO HIM AN INTERNATIONAL BALANCE MUST BE SAFEGUARDED AND IN ORDER TO SUCCEED IN THIS, THE UNITED STATES MUST BE STRONG AND MUST SHOW THAT IT IS STRONG WHEN NECESSARY. TO SUM UP IN A PHRASE: MAINTAIN THE BALANCE BY BEING STRONG.

BUT WHAT DO WE SEE? WHEN MR. KISSINGER SAYS "BALANCE", HIS OPPONENTS AND THE PEOPLE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND HIM, ACCUSE HIM OF WEAKNESS. WHEN HE SAYS "BE STRONG", THESE SAME PEOPLE, AS OTHERS, ACCUSE HIM OF IMPERIALIST DESIGNS, OF BRUTAL INTERVENTIONISM. MR. KISSINGER ADVOCATES A "BALANCE OF POWER" IN EASTERN EUROPE, NOT A SOVIET TAKE-OVER. AND REGARDING WESTERN EUROPE HE RECALLS THAT AN INTERNATIONAL BALANCE CAN BE MAINTAINED ONLY IF AMERICA IS STRONG AND THAT PART OF HER STRENGTH COMES FROM A SOLID ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. FROM THAT (HE DERIVES) THE LOGICAL

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CONCLUSION: IF THE ALLIANCE IS UNDERMINED FROM INSIDE, AMERICA -- THROWN BACK ON HER ISLAND BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC, WILL, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A SIMILAR BALANCE FROM A MORE RESTRICTED BASIS, SHOW A CERTAIN BRUTALITY IN INTERNATIONAL MATTERS.

ONE MAY DISAGREE WITH THIS ANALYSIS, ONE MAY FIND IT EXCESSIVE. BUT ONE CANNOT DENY THE RIGHT TO MR. KISSINGER

TO MAKE IT AND TO COMMUNICATE IT TO WHOMEVER HE WANTS.
AND IF WE START TREMBLING BEFORE WORDS, HERE IN
EUROPE, AND TO RAISE OUR SHIELDS AGAINST WINDMILLS,
THEN WOE TO US. TO TELL THE TRUTH, AND WE MUST MAKE
THIS POINT VERY CLEAR, AMERICA HAS FOUND ONCE MORE ITS
MOBILITY, ITS SENSE OF MANEUVER, AS BEHOOVES A MARITIME
NATION, SINCE IT IS NO LONGER HELD DOWN BY ITS
TERRITORIAL INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA.

CERTAINLY, AT PRESENT, AFTER WATERGATE AND A FEW MONTHS
BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, THE UNITED STATES
ARE STILL HELD IN CHECK BY THEIR DOMESTIC DISSENT. BUT
WE MAY SAFELY ASSUME THAT THIS RELATIVE INDECISION IS
ONLY TEMPORARY AND THAT IN A YEAR OR IN 18 MONTHS,
AMERICA WILL HAVE DISCOVERED AGAIN THAT MINIMUM OF
NATIONAL UNITY WHICH IS NECESSARY FOR A CLEAR CUT FOREIGN
POLICY.

THEN AMERICA WILL BE TERRIFYING ("TERRIBLE" IN FRENCH) --
POWERFUL AND FAST LIKE A HAWK SWOOPING DOWN ON ITS PREY,
DECISIVE AND PRECISE. THIS IS WHY EUROPE SHOULD MAKE ITS OWN
ANALYSIS, INSTEAD OF MOANING AND GETTING INDIGNANT BECAUSE
A SECRETARY OF STATE COLDLY
ANALYZES ITS GROWING POSITION OF WEAKNESS AND AFFIRMS
THAT THIS WEAKNESS ENDANGERS EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE
WORLD AS WELL. EUROPE MUST ANALYZE JUST AS COOLLY AND
LUCIDLY FROM THIS DIAGNOSIS THE PROFOUND CAUSES OF ITS
DEBILITY AND TO TRY TO CURE IT WITHOUT DELAY, WITH ALL
POSSIBLE COMMON WILLPOWER AND ENERGY.
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